

M E M O I R S
OF THE
SIEGE of QUEBEC,
CAPITAL of ALL CANADA,
AND
Of the RETREAT of
Monfieur DE BOURLEMAQUE,
From CARILLON to the ISLE AUX NOIX
In Lake CHAMPLAIN.

FROM THE
JOURNAL of a FRENCH OFFICER
On Board the CHEZINE Frigate,
Taken by his Majesty's Ship RIPPON.

Compared with the Accounts tranfmitted Home
By Major General WOLFE, and Vice-Admiral SAUNDERS;
With Occafional Remarks.

By RICHARD GARDINER, Efq; Captain of Marines in the RIPPON.

In Joys of Conquest he refigns his Breath,
And, fill'd with ENGLAND's Glory, SMILES in Death,
ADD. Campaign.

L O N D O N:

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TO THE
H O N O U R A B L E
GEORGE HOBART, Esq;

S I R,

AT the Close of a successful Campaign, or after the Surrender of a fortified Town or City, there is something singularly pleasing in hearing the Account given by the Enemy of the continual and constant Apprehensions of the Garrison within the Walls, during the Progress of a Siege, and while it has been carrying on in Form; how the Inhabitants have been affected upon every nearer Approach of an investing Army; how they felt along each wounded Line, and trembled at each widening Breach; in hourly Alarms, and like the watchful Mistress of the Web, though fierce in Appearance, proud of the Variety of her Works, and threatening Defiance to every Invader, yet inwardly diffident of their Strength, and flying to her retired Hold on a more brisk and powerful Assault than usual; how they formed on any Motions actually made against them, or guarded and prepared against others expected to be made; what raised their Hopes alternately, and what their Fears; their Consultations, and their Resolutions: These are Particulars more striking to the Imagination than a perfect Knowledge of our own Designs, or a compleat History of what passed in Camp or Trenches. The publick Prints in England

are usually confined to the latter Transactions only, and inform the Reader what Methods of Attack were pursued on one Side, but seldom what Precautions were observed on the other; or whether we triumphed through Superiority of Courage and Numbers, or through the Neglect and Inattention of the Enemy: in a word, that the *English* won a Battle, and the *French* lost it; that we *took* a Town, not how they defended it, makes up the Detail of most of our Publick Military Descriptions: the Knowledge of the former Event is certainly the most material, but that of the latter is far from being unenterprising.

'Tis in this View I have presumed to lay the following Sheets before you, as they may possibly contribute to amuse an idle Hour in the Country (if any of yours can with Propriety be called such) and at the same Time introduce to your Recollection a Man at a Distance from you, who ever so remotely employed in the publick Service, has a Heart still alive to the warm Sensations of private Friendships at home, and Gratitude ever to think with Pleasure on that in particular, which Mr. HOBART has honoured him with.

The Kingdom of *France*, perhaps, was never more reduced in its Naval Power than at this Æra of Time before us; perhaps not in any one Period of its History whatever. It was a standing Complaint against the late Cardinal *Fleury*, that during his long Ministry, the Marine Department was entirely neglected; and that in Consequence of this Inattention, at the breaking out of the last War, the *French* Navy was not only not upon a respectable Footing, but was even held in Contempt by the Fleets of other Nations, particularly by those of *Spain* and *England*, and was very unequal to support the Grand Monarque in the Credit due to him as a *Maritime* Power; but the present low State and shattered Condition of their Marine is owing to a Cause more glorious to our AUGUST SOVEREIGN, and his triumphant Subjects, to VICTORY: Their Ships are now diminished in their Numbers, not from Mismanagement in the *Gallic* State, but from *British* Capture, from being subdued or destroyed, from Defeats repeated, Conquest still following where'er the Flag of *England* flew, with a most amazing Rapidity, in all Parts of the known World: in short, the *French* are at this Instant
but

but seldom seen upon the Ocean, for this plain Reason only, because they have been *beat* and *burnt* out of it by the *English*.

For some Time past no Line of Battle Ship has returned to *France*, that upon Enquiry has not been found to have got in by Stealth; if Reinforcements are to be sent abroad to any of their *few remaining* Settlements, are we not presently informed that some Man of War has *slipt* out in the Night, and luckily having *escaped* the Channel Cruizers, has *run away in the Dark*, with her Troops on board for the *East* or *West Indies*? Their Ports are every where almost blocked up; their foreign Trade not so much impaired as *annihilated*; their Merchantmen all turned Privateers, and so in due Course of Time becoming *English* Prizes; our Men of War hourly insulting their Coasts, riding at Anchor in their Harbours, pursuing their scattered Fleets from Bay to Bay, and River to River; spreading Terror and Confusion throughout every Province in the Kingdom, burning their Towns and Forts, cutting out their Ships from under their Guns, driving others against the Rocks, and making the very *Shore* of *France* conspire to the Ruin of its *own* Navy, and present Destruction instead of Refuge to the dispersed and *flying* Squadrons of its *Sovereign*.

Far be it from me to exaggerate the *British* Power upon the watry Element; but I believe this is well known to be the true *distressed* State of the *Marine* of *France* at this Juncture; and his PRESENT MAJESTY, whose Accession to the Imperial Crown of these his Realms, so illustriously begins, and is so fair in Prospect to add still greater Honour to himself and Glory to his People, has an undoubted Right, if ever any *British* Monarch had, or victorious Fleets and Armies can procure it, to oblige more Nations than one to acknowledge his *Sovereignty* on the *Ocean*, and to strike to his ROYAL FLAG, in whatever Seas or Climates it may be met.

Whether this Superiority over the *Grand Disturber* of *Europe*, in his Naval Strength, is owing to the great Increase of Riches and Commerce in *England* of late Years, or whether the People in general may not have taken a more martial Turn, and have been roused and animated by the continual Insults and De-
pre-

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predations of the common Enemy, into a more glorious Warmth and Spirit for Action, is not for me to determine ; certain it is, that *British* Courage may *sleep* for a while ; but though it slumbers, it is only for a Time, and will most assuredly *awake* whenever called upon in earnest : whatever is the Cause, the Event is plain and obvious, and our Pre-eminence at Sea confessed by all the States and Potentates around us.

And here it might not be improper to mention the distinguished Valour and Intrepidity of his Majesty's Officers and Men in both Services, as being perhaps in some measure conducive to this noble Acquisition ; but an Officer writes with an ill Grace upon so partial a Subject ; however, thus much it is possible may be said without Offence, that hitherto but few of them have been found wanting in their most strenuous Endeavours to promote the Attainment of it, nor many of those employed abroad, discovered to be much inferior to the *French* in Capacity and Resolution, and once indeed have been so happy as to be told from the Throne, (a Reward and Recompence glorious beyond all others) that their Behaviour had been such, as that the Enemy for the future might learn "*What Troops they had to deal with*" when they opposed his Majesty's Arms in Battle.

I have hinted this only in order, with your Indulgence, to take Notice of a Remark too frequently made, and a very severe Censure it is upon military Gentlemen in general, that is, " That allowing them *Bravery*, they still are deficient in their *Knowledge* of the *Art of War*, and by no means *equal* to the *French* in the latter *Respect*, however *superior* they may be to them in the former : " the following Sheets will, I hope, afford a noble, and I would willingly think a convincing Proof to the contrary, and tend to root out a Notion so long established, and so implicitly swallowed, to the Disadvantage of our Officers in the Fleet and Army ; whether we consider the Conduct of the important Expedition before us, on the *Land* or *Sea* side of the Question ; whether we consider the *great Abilities*, and *thorough Knowledge* in his Profession, required of a *British* Admiral to steer his Squadrons with Safety in so intricate a Navigation as that of the River of *St. Laurence*, and so little known to *Englishmen* ; where all Lights and Informations were to be had,

and

and must be had, from the *Enemy themselves*, and Directions of every Sort were to be borrowed from *French Charts*, *French Observations*, and *French Pilots*: Or whether we consider the *comprehensive Judgment*, *Penetration*, *Presence of Mind*, and *martial Science*, to be expected from a *Leader of Troops*, such as to promise, or even give *faint Hopes of Success* in so remote, uncultivated, inhospitable a Country as that of *Canada*; where Rivers, Woods, and Mountains break off all Communication; where the very Face of Nature is set against the Invader, and is strong as the strongest Barrier; where uncommon Heats and * Cold are in Alliance with, and fight for the Adversary; where a Field of Action is to be *made*, and not to be found, to try your Strength upon, and to give even a Chance for Victory; and where, if by Accident, an inconsiderable Plain presents itself, wide enough for Troops to enter upon Action, *Entrenchments* and *Redoubts* forbid Access; where the Foe lies buried up to the Teeth, each Avenue shut, and every Pass securely fortified; and this in a Region where *Britons* having been known to *fail before* in their Attacks, had given fresh Spirits to a vain-glorious Enemy, who vaunted their Forts and Lines to be impregnable, *provoking*, not *fearing* an Assault; and laughing at the *Quixotism* of a *British Landing*.

However, if oppressed and loaded with such uncommon Difficulties, the *British Officers* still made their Way to Conquest, returned home in Triumph, receiving the Applauses of their Country, rejoicing their Sovereign, and bringing fresh Laurels to crown his aged Brow, blooming even from the Wilds of *America*; surely it is but common Candor to believe, and allow, that Men who *thus* succeeded, who *thus* triumphed, beyond all Hope and Opinion, surmounting Obstacles judged to be insurmountable, and reaping such *Iron Harvests* of the Field, could not be Men *very ignorant* in their Profession, or *remarkably deficient* in the *Knowledge of the Art of War*.

The Navigation of the *Fleet* was no less difficult and hazardous, as will more particularly appear from a View of the *South Channel* of the River

* " The excessive Coldness of the Climate, &c. insomuch that before the End of April 1000 were dead, and above 2000 of what remained totally unfit for any Service. Brigadier Murray's Letter from Quebec, May 25, 1760.

River *St. Laurence*, even after our Shipping had advanced securely above the very dangerous Passage of the TRAVERSE^b at the End of the *Isle of Orleans*; the following Observations which I have traced from a *French Chart* found on board the *Chezine* will serve to illustrate this more clearly.

From the E N E. Point of *Orleans* to the S E. better than a Mile, lie the *Isles Aux Rots* and *Madame*, between which and that of *Orleans* is situated the TRAVERSE at the Opening of the two Channels which lead up N. and S. of the *Isle of Orleans*, to QUEBEC.

The whole Breadth of the River *St. Laurence* off the *Traverse* from the North Shore to the South, from Cape *Torment* to *Bertier*, is only 3 Leagues, Depth of Water 10 Fathom; and the broadest Part of the *South Channel*, which our Ships went up by the Side of the *Isle of Orleans*, opposite to *St. John's*, one League only; and the narrowest half a League.

The whole of this Channel is exceeding dangerous, and the Passage up so nice, that it might with some Propriety be considered as the principal *Outwork* of QUEBEC, and in ordinary Attacks more to be depended upon, than the strongest *Fortifications* or *Defences* of the Town.

In the winding Part of the S. Channel, from *Beaumont* over to the Village of *St. Laurence*, in the *Isle of Orleans*, there runs out a Sand three Quarters of a Mile long, and the Shore from Side to Side is barely two Miles broad. This Sand stretches up the Channel from the ENE. to the WSW. along the *New England* Shore for seven Miles ahead, being one Third of the Navigation from the TRAVERSE to the *Points* of ORLEANS and LEVI, between which the *English* Fleet afterwards anchored. The Length of the *Island of Orleans*, from the ENE. Point to the WSW. is about six *French* Leagues, and the broadest Parts about two.

^b See the first Pages of the Journal.

From *St. Bernabie*, where the Fleet first came to an Anchor, up to the TRAVERSE, (a Distance of 38 Leagues) there is a Number of *Shoals, Sands, and little Islands* * interspersed; and here indeed the Difficulty of the Navigation seems to commence; for the River of *St. Laurence* is pretty clear and open till the Ships arrive off this *Cape*, and the greatest Danger to be dreaded is that of *Fogs, or hard Gales* of Wind which may drive a Fleet on the S. or N. Shore; as was the Case in the Expedition against *Quebec* in the QUEEN'S Time, under the Command of Sir *Hovendon Walker*, and General *Hill*, (A. D. 1711.) where the *British* Squadron was run upon the Island of *Eggs*, which they could not weather, eight Transports stranded with 884 Men on board, and the whole, thro' the Ignorance of the Pilots and Violence of the Winds, in imminent Danger of being lost.

The Fogs are likewise very alarming to Mariners, and very frequent in this River; so much so, that we ought to think ourselves extremely happy and much favoured by PROVIDENCE, (which through the whole Progress of the present War seems in a particular Manner to have distinguished the Justice of the *British* Cause) that our Naval Officers were blessed with a clear serene Sky and moderate Weather to work their Ships in, and to steer them from Sand to Sand, and Shoal to Shoal, in the most difficult Parts of this hazardous Channel, keeping their Course direct, and sliding up to the very Walls of the Town without Interruption or one fatal Accident, without running on *Shore* in one Place, upon *Rocks* in another, or even *foul* of their *own Ships*; and guiding the Helm with such *Exactitude* and *masterly Skill*, as if the GUARDIAN ANGEL of the *British* Realms had *itself* conducted this most fortunate Armament, and from every *Isle* or *Island, Cape* or *Point* of *Land*, which it was dangerous to approach, had timely warned the *English Admiral*, proclaiming aloud,

“ *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther.*”

The following beautiful Lines of *Claudian*, if ever they were applicable to any Man, were so in a particular Manner to Mr. SAUNDERS on this Occasion:

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O!

* See the first Pages of the Journal.

*O! nimium Dilecte DEO, cui militat ÆTHER,
Et CONJURATI veniunt ad Classica VENTI.*

Success in so perilous a Navigation will, I hope, incline the yet unprejudiced Part of the World to imagine, that the Officers of *our Fleet* are likewise not *unacquainted* in their several and respective Departments, nor at all *inferior* to the Enemy in *Seamanship*, and what relates to the *Head* as well as the *Heart* of bold, active, and experienced Commanders.

Such and so great were the Difficulties attending this extraordinary Expedition in the *first Instance only*, and before the Troops could be *brought into Action*, or even *landed* to make an *Attempt*, so that when the *whole* of the *Operations* of this Campaign are taken into Consideration, it may well be esteemed, and I think, impartially, the most *arduous* Undertaking, and the most *important* Atchievement that has taken Place since the Beginning of this War; an Expedition big with as *interesting* Events, as perhaps was ever designed by an *able* and *penetrating* Minister, or carried into Execution by a *gallant* and *enterprising* General; so as to leave the scrutinizing World and Lookers on of all Nations in Suspence which to admire most, the *extensive* Genius of the *one*, or the *matchless Intrepidity* of the *other*; the glorious Offspring of which illustrious Endeavours was the REDUCTION of ALL CANADA to HIS MAJESTY'S OBEDIENCE, and the *Casting* the *overbearing Insolence* of a proud, wary, restless and perfidious Enemy, whilst it pleased PROVIDENCE to bless the KING's Cause, and crown his Arms with such a *Rapidity* of Success, and such a *Torrent* of *brilliant Victories*, as must for ever distinguish the military Prowess and *awakened Spirit* of ENGLAND in all *martial History* throughout the World.

I should now, Sir, apologize for the tedious Length of this. Will it be allowed in Excuse that, warmed with the delightful Prospect of the Glory of our Country, I have suffered the Pen to wander, nor stop'd its Progress, while on a Subject so transporting to a *Soldier* and a *Briton*? In either of which Lights should you think of me to Advantage, my Ambition is answered; for your Approbation will al-
ways

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ways convey sufficient Applause, and your Friendship confer sufficient Honour upon,

S I R,

Your most obliged and obedient

From on Board His
Majesty's Ship Rip-
pon, in Quiberon
Bay, Feb. 18, 1761.

humble Servant,

RICHARD GARDINER.

The Squadron under Sir *Edward Hawke* is now lying between the *Main Land of France* and the beautiful Island of BELLEISLE; at a little Distance from us to the E S E. is *St. Gildas*, a pleasant Village, situated on an Eminence which commands the Bay of *Quiberon*, *Belleisle*, the *Sea*, the *Cardinals*, and several *small Islands*; on the Summit of the Hill stands the celebrated Convent of the PARACLETE, founded by ABELARD and ELOISA, and walled in with extensive Gardens to the Southward; the Situation is very delightful to the Eyes, and the Village (as I am informed) is in Summer Time a Place of great Resort.



M E M O I R S

O F T H E

S I E G E of Q U E B E C.

ON the 10th of May, 1759, *Monsieur de Bougainville* arrived 1759.
 at *Quebec*, from *Old France*, in the *Chezine*, Captain *Duclos* ;
 soon after which we had an Account of the Arrival in the *May*
River of 15 Merchantmen, under the Convoy of *Monsieur Kanou* * ; 10.
 and on the 20th counted 23 Sail in the *Baſon* of *Quebec*. These 20.
 Vessels came in very good time, for the *English Fleet* was soon after
 them, and on the Night of the 23d, the Fires on Point *Levi*
 gave

* For a List of the Convoy under *Monsieur Kanou*, see the last Page of these *Memoirs*.

^b The *Baſon* before *Quebec*, from the *South Shore* to the *North*, opposite to the Village of *Charlebourg*, is about two Miles and a Half broad.

This *Baſon* is formed by the two Channels of the *River St. Laurence* (called the *North* and *South Channel*) which empty themselves into it, and unite before the Town ; after this Confluence the River runs up above the Town in one Channel only, to the S. W. leading to *Montreal*, &c. but the Stream sets to the N. E.

Quebec stands on a Point of Land on the *North Shore*, projecting towards the *Baſon* and the *Isle of Orleans*.

1759. gave us Notice of its Approach to the ^c *Bec*. These Signals were confirmed by a Courier, who brought Intelligence, that 14 Ships were already come to an Anchor at *St. Bernabie* ^d.

Monsieur de Montcalm, who was then at *Quebec*, immediately dispatched an Express to *Monsieur de Vaudreuil* with this Account, who instantly repaired to the Garrison, and both Generals made the necessary Dispositions for a vigorous Defence. Orders were given out for assembling the Militia every where, and five Battalions were sent for from *Montreal* ^e; a Body of Horse, consisting of 200 Men, were raised, and the Command given to *Monsieur de la Roche Beauport*. The *Beauport* Side of the Coast was fortified all along from the River *St. Charles* to the Falls of *Montmorency*; a Bridge of Boats was built over this River, and the *Tete du Pont* (or Head of the Bridge) defended by a *Horn-Work*; an Entrenchment was thrown up in the *Prairie* (or Meadow) of *Monsieur Hicbè*, which was carried on from *St. Rock* to the Bridge; the Entrance of the River *St. Charles* was secured by a Boom, and this Boom defended by two Hulks with Cannon, which were run ashore a little within the Chain; several *Bateaux* (or Boats) were put upon the Stocks, some of which were to carry a twelve, and others a fourteen Pounder: A kind of ^f floating Battery was likewise begun upon,

^c The *Bec*, or *Bic*, is a small Island in the River *St. Laurence*, distant from *Quebec* and *Point Levi* (which is opposite to it) about forty-three French Leagues.

^d *St. Bernabie* is about three Leagues lower down from the *Bec*, to the W. N. W.

^e *Le Marquis de Vaudreuil*, Grand Croix of the Royal and Military Order of *St. Lewis*, was Governor and Lieutenant-General for the French King, in *Canada*, and usually resided at *Montreal*.

^f *Montreal* is a large fortified Town, situated upon an Island in the River *St. Laurence*, about 180 Miles higher up, and to the Southward of *Quebec*. It is called *Montreal* at present (or *Mont Royal*) from a very high Mountain that overlooks the Island; but formerly, and indeed originally, it bore the Name of *VILLE MARIE*, or *Mary's Town*. The River of *St. Laurence*, at *Montreal*, is about three Miles broad, but it is not navigable beyond for Rocks and Cataracts.

The Province of *Canada*, or *New France*, of which *Quebec* was considered as the CAPITAL, is situated between 70 and 105 Long. W. and between 35 and 58 Lat. N. is according to the latest Computations 1800 Miles long, and 1260 broad; bounded by *New Britain* and *British Canada* on the North; by *New Scotland*, *New England*, and *New York*, on the East; and by *Unknown Lands* on the West.

^g To the uncommon Strength of the Country, the Enemy have added (for the De-

upon, of twelve Embrasures, to carry Cannon of twelve, eighteen, 1759. and twenty-four Pounders, and ninety Men, and the Command given to Captain *Duclos*, of the *Chezine*, who was the Inventor of it. Batteries *en Barbette* were erected on the *Quay du Palais*, and those on the Ramparts, and in the Lower Town, were repaired, completed, and considerably enlarged. Eight Vessels were likewise fitted out as ^h Fire-Ships, which did no Execution, owing to the ill Management of the Officers who had the Direction of them: *Fire-Stages* were likewise built, but met with as little Success as the Ships. A Street was opened in the Garden of the Bishop's Palace, for the easier Communication between the Town and Ramparts: the Passage that led to the Lower Town was blocked up, and the Walls of the Houses pulled down, that were adjoining to it. The Breaches in the City Walls were all filled up, and such of them as could not be finished with Masonry, for want of Time, were secured by a *Palisade*, from any sudden Attack (or *Coup de Main*). The Ships which were not likely to be wanted during the Siege, were ordered up the River, as far as ¹ *Batiscan*, and all the Seamen taken out, but such as were absolutely necessary for working them; the rest were employed at the Batteries; and all Persons who could be of no Service in the Siege, such as Ladies and others, were desired to withdraw from the City; this Request being considered by most People as an Order, was submitted to, but not without Reluctance.

About the Middle of *June*, Advice was received that the whole June of the *English* Fleet was arrived at the *Bec*, and the Wind at 26. *North East* continuing to favour them, we soon learnt that they had passed all the dangerous Shoals and bad Ground, and without any

Deser of the River) a great Number of *Floating Batteries* and Boats. Letter from Major General *Wolfe*.

^h Seven of these *Fire-Ships* were sent down from *Quebec*, at Midnight, the 28th of *June*, upon our Men of War and Transports, but were all towed ashore by the Boats of the Squadron, without doing any Mischief, notwithstanding the Fleet was so numerous, and spread so great a Part of the Channel: the next Night General *Monckton* landed with his Brigade, and took Possession of *Point Levi*. Letter from Vice Admiral *Saunders*, Sept. 5.

¹ *Batiscan* lies about 20 Leagues above the Town; Admiral *Holmes* went up with his Division ten or twelve Leagues, in order to destroy them, but could get no farther.

1759. any Accident were safe at an Anchor along the Isle of Orleans. The TRAVERSE, [†] a Channel so difficult to cross, if our pilots are to be credited; was cleared without any Trouble by the *English* Squadron, notwithstanding the *Buoys* were all cut away, and many of the Ships ran over it, even in the Night. The Fleet of the Enemy consisted of 160 Sail. We counted sixteen of the Line (of which three mounted eighty Guns) and eight Frigates; the rest were Transports of different Sorts. Vice Admiral SAUNDERS commanded the Men of War, and Major General WOLFE the Troops destined to

[†] The TRAVERSE lies at the E. or N. E. End of the Isle of Orleans, about twenty Miles below *Quebec*, where the River *St. Laurence* divides itself into two Channels, one running on the North, and the other on the South Side of Orleans. The Breadth of the River, from Shore to Shore, from Cape Torment to Bertier, is about nine Miles, but the Mouth of the South Channel, which our Fleet passed at the Traverse, is choaked up with a number of Rocks, and Sands, and little Islands. From the N. E. End of it, at the Distance of four Leagues to the S. W. are Sands and Rocks running up for twelve Miles to the Isle Vertu, which is two Leagues long; opposite to this is another Island, guarded with a round Sand, bigger and broader than itself considerably, being only a Mile and a Half long, called the Isle Rouge; the Passage for the Fleet, between these two Islands, is a League and a Half broad.

From the Isle Rouge, proceeding on to the S. W. about four Leagues, is situated the Isle Au Lievre, the Approach to which, on the North Side, is prevented by a Sand five Miles long, and three Quarters broad, with a Rock in the Middle of it; on the South Side are three little Rocks, and from the Middle of this Island to the S. W. End of it, runs a Sand twelve Miles long, and three broad, with three Rocks in it. Opposite this Sand, to the Southward, are four Rocks, and a Sand with five more Rocks a little higher up upon it; the Passage for the Shipping between these two Sands, to the South of Lievre, is about a League broad, and on the North Side of the Island but Half a one: This Sand extends above fifteen Miles from below Les Pelliciers up to Cape Camoras, and higher.

About seven Miles farther up, a broad Oval Sand runs almost across the River, within three Miles of Cape Au Oye, on the opposite Shore; the River is here about ten Miles broad, seven of which are covered with this Sand, to the Westward of which is another Sand and Rock, and the Island of Au Coudre, the Passage open to the Fleet between them not being broader than one Mile and a Half.

From the Isle Au Coudre up to the Traverse is one continual and wide extended Sand lying in the Middle of the River, full of Rocks, stretching thirty Miles in Length, and better than two Leagues broad in some Parts of it. The Passage on each Side for the Squadron, in the narrowest Part, is only a Mile and a Half, on the North Side it is scarce a Mile.

This Sand with the little Isles Aux Rots, Madame, and the Sands interspersed around them, lead the Approach to the Island of Orleans, and the Mouth of the South Channel to Quebec at the Traverse; and from the Traverse up to Quebec the Navigation is already mentioned in the Dedication.

From Point Levi all along the Coast to the Mountains of Our Lady, on the South Shore, a Distance of about 120 Miles, are situated a number of Towns and Villages, and a greater still in Proportion to the Distance, on the Canada or North Side.

Siege of QUEBEC.

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to form the Siege, and which might in the whole amount to about 8 or 9000 effective Men. 1759.

The whole of our Army was assembled at *Beauport*, the last June Day of *June*, consisting of five Battalions of regular Troops, from 7 to 800 a Battalion, the Troops of the Colony, and near an equal Number of Savages; the rest were only Militia, and made up in the whole about 14000 Men.

The Right of the Camp was fixed near the *Decoy*, and the Left extended to the *Falls of Montmorency*. The Church of *Beauport* was in the Center; on the Left were encamped the Battalion of *Royal Rouffillon*, the Volunteers of *Dubrel*, the Militia of *Montreal*, and all the *Savages*, under the Command of the *Chevalier de Levy*.

Monsieur Dumas commanded the Right Wing of the Army, which was composed of the Militia of *Quebec*, and of the *Trois Rivières* (or three Rivers) whilst the Troops of the Colony were divided between the Left and Right. *Monsieur de Senezergue*, Brigadier General, commanded the Center of the Camp, and had under his Orders the Battalions of *La Sarre*, *Languedoc*, *Guyenne*, and *Bearn*. The Head Quarters were fixed at the House of *Monsieur de Vienne*, called *La Mifanguienne*. The Garrison of the Town was composed of the *Burghers* and the *Seamen*, in all about 2000. The Troops and the Burghers rolled together, and did Duty with one another, and the Seamen and their Officers were employed at the Batteries under the Command of the Officers of the Artillery. The Troops in the Garrison were relieved every four Days from the Camp. A Company of Pioneers was likewise formed to carry on the necessary Works during the Siege, under the Direction of the *Surveyor* or *Builder* of the King's Ships.

Monsieur de Ramefay, Lieutenant de Roy, commanded in the
C Town,

¹ The *Trois Rivières* is a Government on the North Shore, near half-way between *Quebec* and *Montreal*; the Capital of this Government bears the same Name, but is only an open straggling Village.

1759. Town, and had under him *Monsieur Le Chevalier de Berne*, to whom the Defence of the Lower Town was particularly entrusted.

July 30. On the 30th of *June*, the Enemy landed 3000 Men at *Point Levi*, to oppose which Body, a Party of a hundred Savages only was detached from Camp, who ^m skirmished with them for a few Hours, and then returned back, bringing with them about Thirty Scalps. Had a more considerable Force been ordered out upon this Service, sufficient to have brought on a serious Affair, and to have ended it to our Advantage, it certainly had been more for the Interest of our Generals; this indeed was proposed, but as it did not tally with the Plan of Defence agreed on, it was rejected and dropped: whatever was the Reason, the *English* did not fail to turn it to good Account; and to avail themselves of our Inactivity on this Occasion, which furnished them with an Opportunity to fortify themselves on this Side, and to erect Batteries which played briskly on the Town, and soon reduced it to ashes. They opened these Batteries on the 12th of *July* in the Night, which never ceased firing from that Time to the 18th of *September*; a Day famous for the Surrender of *Quebec*.

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^m "The advanced Parties upon this Occasion had two or three Skirmishes with the *Canadians* and *Indians*, with little Loss on either Side." *General Wolfe's Letter*.

"Batteries of Cannon and Mortars were erected with great Dispatch on the *Point of Levi*, to bombard the Town and Magazines, and to injure the Works and Batteries."

"The Effect of this Artillery has been so great (tho' across the River) that the *Upper Town* is considerably damaged, and the *Lower Town* entirely destroyed." *Wolfe*.

The Breadth of the River from the *English* Batteries to the *Lower Town* and *Citadel*, was about Three Quarters of a Mile: the Batteries consisted of 12, 24, and 32 Pounders with seven Mortars. Brigadier *Monckton*, who commanded at *Point Levi*, had fortified his Camp with several *Redoubts*, and a *Battery* of two Guns upon the Point itself.

General Wolfe mentions an Attempt of the Enemy to destroy these Works, who sent out a Detachment of 1600 Men for that Purpose, but falling into Confusion, they fired upon one another and went back again.

Siege of Q U E B E C.

19

The Camp on *Point Levi* was scarcely fixed, when ^{1759.} another was discovered of greater Extent on the Point of the Island of *Orleans*: but this last disappeared in a few Days, and we observed a Number of Barges, July 8. (or flat-bottomed Boats, full of Soldiers) to enter the ¹ North Channel, and draw up under the Cannon of two Frigates, which two Days before came to an Anchor opposite to the Church of the ¹ *Guardian Angel*. At first it was a Doubt in our Camp, whether this Motion of the Enemy had any real Object or Design, and under this false Persuasion, that nothing could be attempted on that Side, no Measures were taken, either to prevent or disconcert their Operations, or to make them purchase their Success at a dear Rate.

General WOLFE observing no Disposition on our Side to dispute a Landing, made a ^{9th.} Descent on the 9th of *July* in the Morning, and in Effect, met with no Opposition, but from the Savages¹; these latter attacked a *Corps* of 400 Men, which they defeated; but this Party being considerably reinforced, the *Indians* were obliged to give way in their Turn, and were driven off; they sent however to the Chevalier *De Levy* for Assistance, but he arrived too late. This was not the only Instance, in which the Slowness of our Motions was of Service to the Enemy.

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General

[•] Col. *Carleton* marched with a Detachment to the *Westernmost* Point of the Isle of *Orleans*.

It was absolutely necessary to possess these two *Points* and fortify them, because from either the one or the other, the Enemy might make it impossible for any Ship to lye in the *Basin* of *Quebec*, or even within two Miles of it. *Wolfe*.

¹ “ It being resolved to land on the *North Shore*, below the *Falls* of *Montmorency*, I placed on the 8th instant (*July*) his Majesty's Sloop the *Porcupine* and the *Boscawen* armed Vessel, in the Channel between *Orleans* and the *North Shore* to cover the Landing.” *Letter from Admiral Saunders*.

² About three Miles from the *River* and *Falls* of *Montmorency*, lower down the *North Channel*.

¹ We passed the *North Channel* at Night, and encamped near the Enemy's Left, the *River Montmorency* between us. *Wolfe*.

[•] “ The next Morning (after Landing) Captain *Dank*'s Company of Rangers, posted in a Wood to cover some Workmen, were attacked and defeated by a Body of *Indians*, and had so many killed and wounded, as to be almost disabled for the rest of the Campaign; the Enemy also suffered in this Affair, and were in their Turn driven off by the nearest Troops.” *Wolfe*.

1759. General WOLFE finding no farther Resistance to be made, took Possession of the *Heights* to the Left of the *Falls* of *Montmorency*, and which commanded all the Country to the Right; there fixed his own Camp, and fortified it with *Entrenchments* towards the Wood; he erected likewise a strong Battery, which *enfiladed* and raked the Camp of the Chevalier *De Levy*, and would have reduced him to the Necessity of quitting it, had he not thrown up *Traverses*^{*} to secure it from the Cannon. General WOLFE being Master of the Shore Side to the Left of the *Falls* of *Montmorency*, made no farther Advances, the Object he had in View was, to *make an Attack upon our Camp*[†]; but the opposite Banks of the River where he was obliged to cross, were so high and steep, and the little Safety there was in passing a Ford he had but a slender Knowledge of, together with the Number of thick Woods which covered the Country round, presented such a Variety of Difficulties to him, as were not easily to be surmounted; however by drawing our Attention another Way, and obliging us to divide our Forces, he flattered himself, he should in the End accomplish his Design.

18th. With this View, he caused * two Ships to pass above the Town of *Quebec*. This Movement did not much alarm us at first, but others soon after taking the same Route, and this little Fleet increasing every Day, our

^{*} *Banks of Earth* thrown perpendicularly across a Line to intercept the Enemy's Shot, and to prevent its being raked. These *Traverses* are sometimes six or seven Feet high, especially if the Line is commanded by any Eminence, and about 12 or 18 Feet thick, so as to be Cannon Proof; a Communication is preserved at one End of the *Traverse*, by leaving a *Passage* five or six Feet wide.

[†] "I had Hopes that possibly Means might be found of passing the River above, so as to fight the Marquis *De Montcalm* upon Terms of less Disadvantage, than directly attacking his Entrenchments. *Wolfe*."

"In reconnoitring the River *Montmorency*, we found it fordable at a Place about three Miles up, but the opposite Bank was intrenched, and so steep and woody, that it was to no Purpose to attempt a Passage there." *Wolfe*.

"However to divide the Enemy's Force, &c." *Wolfe*.

"On the 17th, I ordered Captain *Rous* of the *Sutherland* to proceed with the first fair Wind and Night-Tide above the Town of *Quebec*, and to take with him his Majesty's Ships *Diana* and *Squirrel* with two armed Sloops, and two Cutts loaded with Pro-

visions,

Siege of QUEBEC.

21

our Generals began to be *uneasy*, and thereupon detached 1200 Men from the Camp to keep the Enemy in Awe on that Side, and to prevent their making a Descent. 1759.

Notwithstanding this Precaution, Mr. *Wolfe* contrived to ^a land some Troops at the Point *De Trempe*, who ^a carried off some Ladies, and conducted them on board the Admiral's Ship. His *Excellency* received his Prisoners very graciously, entertained them for two Days, and then sent them back, greatly charmed with his Politeness, and the genteel Treatment they had met with.

This little Squadron moved still higher up, and came to an Anchor at the *Falls of Richelieu* ^b, and from thence detached 800 Men in flat-bottomed Boats, who landed at *Des Chambeaux* ^c; and marched directly to a House, where the Cloathing and Camp Equipage of many of our Officers were laid up, and set it on Fire. Here they spread into the Country, and collected together a Number of Cattle, which they made a show of carrying off; but a Body of twenty Horse appearing unexpectedly, the *English* took fright, threw themselves into their Boats with some Precipitation, and returned on board their Ships again.

All these Transactions were attended with no Events of Consequence, and in no Shape forwarded the main Design of General WOLFE, who
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^a visions, and on the 18th they all got up except the *Diana*, and gave General WOLFE "an Opportunity of reconnoitring above the Town." *Saunders*.

^b I thought of attempting it (to land) at St. *Michael's* about three Miles above the Town, but perceiving that the Enemy were *jealous* of the Design, were preparing against it, &c. it seemed so hazardous, that I thought it best to desist. *Wolfe*.

^c I sent a Detachment under the Command of Colonel *Carleton* to land at the Point *De Trempe* to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some Prisoners, and all the useful Papers he could get.

^a The Colonel brought off some Prisoners, and returned with little Loss. *Wolfe*.

^b At the *Falls of Richelieu* on the South Shore, nearly opposite to *De Chambeaud*, about 24 Miles above the Town of *Quebec*.

^c This landing at *Des Chambeaux* was not effected till after the Action of the 31st of July.

" Imme-

1759. in the End took a ⁴ Resolution to make an open and general Attack upon our Camp, and that in such a Manner as was most likely to finish the Dispute between us. Accordingly the 31st of July was pitched upon as the Day for this brilliant Onset, and at Nine o'Clock in the Morning, four Vessels got on their Way, and advanced towards the Point *De Lesse*. This is a low Point near the *Falls of Montmorency*, and running out a little into the Sea, presenting when the Tide is out a very good Field for Action; on the Shore (which rose in a Kind of Amphitheatre) our Generals had thrown up an Entrenchment flanked with two ^{*} Redoubts, one of which mounted Cannon. Two of the sail just now mentioned ran in within the Point, and two others went aground on Purpose above it; a fifth, which appeared to us to be a *Man of War* of [†] 60 Guns, came very near the former, but did not run ashore, and all three began a very brisk Fire upon our Entrenchments, which lasted from Eleven in the Morning to Seven o'Clock at Night [‡]. This Fire was seconded by the Batteries on the *Falls*, which, notwithstanding the *Traverses*, galled our Men more than the Discharge from the Shipping.

Soon

“ Immediately after this Check (*July 31st*) I sent Brigadier *Murray* above the Town with 1200 Men, &c. He landed unexpectedly at *De Chambaud*, and burnt a Magazine there, in which were some Provisions, some Ammunition, and all the spare Stores, Cloathing, Arms and Baggage of their Army.” *Wolfe*.

“ I now resolved to take the first Opportunity which presented itself of attacking the Enemy, &c.” *Wolfe*.

“ Previous to this Engagement of the 31st, the Enemy had sent down on the 28th at Midnight, a *Raft* of Fire-Ships, of near a hundred *Radeaux*; which succeeded no better than their Fire-Ships already mentioned.” *Saunders*.

“ A Redoubt is a Work thrown up for the Security of Lines and Entrenchments, consisting generally of three, four, or more Sides, surrounded with a Bank and Ditch, and mounting Cannon; it is a temporary Fortification, and mostly used for the Defence of a Camp, or some Post of Consequence.

“ To cover (the Troops on Landing) I placed the *Centurion* in the Channel between the Isle of *Orleans* and the *Falls* (of *Montmorency*) and ran on Shore at high Water, two *Catts*, which I had armed for that Purpose, against two small Batteries and two Redoubts, where our Troops were to land.” *Saunders*.

The Fire of this Ship was of great Service, particularly in silencing in a great measure the Battery of the Enemy which commanded the Ford at the *Falls*, where the two Brigades of General *Murray* and *Townshend* were to pass in order to attack the Left of the French Army.

“ A great Quantity of Artillery was placed upon the Eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the Left of their Entrenchments.” *Wolfe*.

Soon after the cannonading took place, about a ^h hundred Boats ^{put} off from the Point De Levi, and made for the Isle of Orleans; it was ^{1759.} then past all doubt, that an *Assault* was intended.—The General was beat, and the whole of our Troops marched out, and lined the Entrenchments from the Center of the Camp to the Left.—The Fire of the English was very smart; but our Canadians, tho' it was the first Time they had ever seen the Face of an Enemy, remained untterrified, and stood to their Arms with a Steadiness, that greatly pleased our Generals, and merited their Applause.

About Five o'Clock in the Afternoon, the ^h Boats, which not without great Difficulty had got the length of the Isle of Orleans, advanced towards the Point De Lesse, and there landed about 2000 Men.

At that very instant appeared General WOLFE at the Head of a Column of 4000 Men, which had passed the ^h Ford at the Falls of Montmorency, and marched up to one of our Redoubts, which we had abandoned for want of Powder and Ball; he gave orders to the ^m Grenadiers to seize upon this Redoubt, but they were dislodged very soon by

^h “ The Boats of the Fleet were filled with Grenadiers, and a Part of Brigadier Monckton's Brigade from the Point of Levi.” Wolfe.

^h The Entrenchments ran all along the Shore from the River St. Charles to the Ford at Montmorency, and were defended by nine Redoubts and ten Batteries with a Mortar near Beaufort; mounting in all thirty-three Guns; the Batteries were within less than a Quarter of a Mile of one another, that is, within Musquet Shot; for tho' the Point Blank Flight of a Musquet Ball is generally computed at no more than 260 Yards, yet a very little Elevation of the Musquet will do good Execution at a Distance of 360. The Floating Battery of 12 Guns was placed at the Mouth of the River St. Charles.

^h With Brigadier Monckton's Detachment from Point Levi.

^h The Breadth of the Ford at the Falls at Montmorency was about 150 Yards; the Falls of Montmorency were 300 Feet high.

^h “ The Grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct Bodies, and to begin the Attack, supported by Brigadier Monckton's Corps, as soon as the Troops (under Mr. Townshend and Murray) had passed the Ford, and were at hand to assist; but instead of forming themselves as they were directed, they ran on impetuously towards the Enemy's Entrenchments in the utmost Disorder and Confusion, without waiting for the Corps which were to sustain them, and join in the Attack, &c.

“ The Grenadiers were checked, and obliged to shelter themselves in or about the Redoubt, which the French abandoned upon their Approach.” Wolfe.

(Not very likely for want of Powder and Ball)

1759. by the Fire of our Musquetry, and obliged to retire in Disorder, when the *General*, instead of rallying or bringing them back to the Charge, ordered the "Retreat to be beat.

The Advantage which we had of the Ground, and the good Order he observed in our Troops, probably inclined the *English General* to lay aside all Thoughts of succeeding in this Attack, and induced him to give it up. Certain it is, that had he attempted to have forced our Lines, his whole Army would have run a Risque of being ° cut to Pieces; for he must have carried the Entrenchments by an *Escalade* on three Sides very difficult to be mounted, and that in the Face of an Army much^p superior to his own.

We lost in the Action 57 Men killed and wounded, and the Enemy about 300. The Seamen that belonged to the two Ships that were aground, after setting Fire to them, retired to their Boats.

August During the greatest Part of the Month of *August*, General WOLFE remained inactive in his Camp upon the *Falls of Montmorency*, and confined

^p I saw the absolute Necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind Brigadier *Monckton's* Corps.

It was near Night, a sudden Storm came on, and the Tide began to make, so that I thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult an Attack. *Wolfe*.

° "If the Attack had succeeded, our Loss must certainly have been great." After which the General gives his Reasons for this severe Attack; "The Desire to act in Conformity to the King's Intentions, induced me to make this Trial," and closes his Account of it, with an Opinion that does Honour to the Troops under his Command, a Confidence in them, and Conviction that breathes the true Martial Spirit of that active and intrepid Leader, "persuaded that a victorious Army finds no Difficulties." A Position that not only deserves to be adopted and embraced by every succeeding Officer at the Head of Troops, but to be laid down and admitted as an Axiom in Military Theory, and which the Experience of all Ages must for ever confirm.

^p "The Enemy were indeed posted on a commanding Eminence, numerous in their Entrenchments, and their Fire hot." *Wolfe*.

^q Killed, Officers 11, and 171 Men. Wounded, Officers 46, and 604 of the Men. Missing, Rank and File 17. In all 849. *Wolfe*.

"To prevent the two *Catts* from falling into the Enemy's Hands (they being then dry on Shore) I gave Orders to take the Men out, and set them on Fire, which was accordingly done." *Saunders*.

^r General WOLFE and the ADMIRAL were far from being inactive all this Month. "On

confined his Operations to the burning and plundering of what Houses there were in the Country he was Master of, waiting the Arrival of the Forces under Mr. *Amberst*, before he made any new Attempts; however, that General did not appear, and in the mean while, the Season of Action was slipping away, and Mr. *WOLFE* saw with Regret, that his Prey was ready to fall out of his hands; this determined him at all Events to make one Trial more, and to possess himself of the Eminence on which *Quebec* is built. 1759.

In Consequence of this Resolution, he reinforced the Squadron already above the Town, raised his own Camp upon the Falls, and removed it to the Point *De Levi*. This Alteration produced a Change in our Camp. Troops were drawn off from the Left Wing which was now no longer in Danger of any Attack, and a Recruit was sent to the Right composed of the Battalion of *Guyenne*, and a Detachment of the *Montreal* Militia.

Several Days passed, and nothing material or of moment was observed to be in Agitation; but on the 5th of *September*, several Columns of the Enemy were discovered marching upon the Heights of *Point Levi*, and taking the Road that led to the Falls of *Chaudiere*, where they embarked on board the Squadron.

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"On the 5th of *August*, I sent twenty flat-bottomed Boats up the River, to embark 1260 of the Troops. I sent up Admiral *Holmes*, and directed him to use his best Endeavours to get at and destroy the Enemy's Ships above the Town, but the Wind holding Westerly, it was the 27th of *August* before they got up." *Saunders*.

"I sent Brigadier *Murray* above the Town with 1200 Men; directing him to assist Rear Admiral *Holmes* in the Destruction of the *French* Ships (if they could be got at) in order to open a Communication with General *Amberst*." *Wolfe*.

"Before Admiral *Durall* got into the River, three Frigates and 17 Sail with Provisions, Stores, and a few Recruits, got up, and are those we are so anxious if possible to destroy." *Saunders*.

This was the little Fleet under Monsieur *Kanau* that arrived from *Old France* the beginning of *May*, one of which was the *Chezine* as already mentioned.

General *WOLFE* having resolved to quit the Camp at *Montmorency*, and having taken off all the Artillery, on the 3d of *September*, the Troops embarked from thence and landed at *Point Levi*. *Saunders*.

Nearly opposite to *Cape Rouge*, which is about five Miles above *Quebec*, and about nine above *Sillery* where the Troops landed.

1759. This Movement put it out of doubt, that the Enemy had some Design upon the " North Shore, and meant to possess themselves of some Post there; of which immediate Notice was sent to Monsieur *De Bougainville*, who commanded in that Quarter, and in the mean time, a Reinforcement of five Companies of *Grenadiers*, the *Volunteers*, and the *Picquets* were detached to his Assistance.

The North Shore is no where accessible, especially to an Army, but at *Cape Rouge*, *Sillery*, *St. Michael*, and *Le Foullon*, where a convenient Road was made, wide enough even for Carriages.

Monsieur *De Bougainville* took his Post with the whole of the Troops under his Command at *Cape Rouge*, as being a Pass of the most Consequence at this Juncture; and contented himself with placing Guards of 100 Men each at every other Post, and which would have been a Strength sufficient against any Attack, had the Orders that were given out (of breaking up the Roads every where) been put in Execution, but the same Fatality attended these, as did many other Orders, that of being totally neglected.

General *Wolfe*, after marching and countermarching, a Number of *Feints* and *False Alarms* in different Quarters, came at last to a Resolution to make an Attempt in earnest at *Le Foullon*, * and on the 12th of *September* at Night, he landed 150 of the ' *Highlanders* between *St. Michael* and *Le Foullon*, who with a great deal of * Difficulty and Danger climbed up to the Summit of the *Cape*, which was immensely steep,

* On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a Movement of the Ships was made, in order to amuse " the Enemy now posted along the *North Shore*." (viz. *Monsieur Bougainville's Command*.)
Brigadier Townshend's Letter.

* Within a League of *Cape Diamond*.

Cape Diamond is situated to the Southward of the Town, and runs out into the River at the Distance of about a Quarter of a Mile from the *Citadel*. There was a Battery erected upon it called the *Queen's Battery*, but there were no Guns mounted.

' *The Light Infantry*.

" When General *WOLFE*, and the Troops with him had landed, the Difficulty of
" gaining

steep, and * fell upon the Detachment that guarded the Post of *Foullon*, 1759. taking them in the Rear ; our Soldiers thus surpris'd, scarcely entered into Action, but abandoned their Post and fled.

The *English* Army having now no Enemy in Front to oppose them, scaled the Path up the Mountain without any Difficulty, and soon gained the great Road of *St. Foy*.

This Landing was effected between the Hours of 3 and 4 in the Morning, but it was scarcely known in our Camp at 6 ; and the first Reports then were, that about a Dozen flat-bottom'd Boats had appeared off *Le Foullon*, and seem'd to make a Shew of disembarking some People there ; but very soon after, an Express arriv'd with an Account, that the whole of the *English* Army was landed, and were advancing in good Order along the Road of *St. Foy*.

Immediately our Troops quitted their Camp, and filed off, leaving a Guard of 1500 Men only to defend it, and took Post upon the ^b Heights of *Abraham*, waiting the Arrival of the Enemy, who were drawing up in Order of Battle near the House *De Borgia*, which cover'd their Left ; and from thence extended to the great Road leading to the Port of *St. Louis*.

General *Wolfe*, upon first coming up, had ordered a Company of *Highlanders* to take Possession of the * House *De Borgia* ; from which

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“ gaining the Top of the Hill is scarce credible ; it was very steep in its Ascent and high, and had no Path where two could go abreast ; but they were oblig'd to pull their selves up by the Stumps and Boughs of Trees that cover'd the Declivity.”
Saunders.

* “ After a little Firing, the *Light Infantry* (under Colonel *Howe*) gain'd the Top of the Precipice, and disperis'd the Captain's Post.” *Townshend.* (100 Men detach'd by *Monsieur de Bougainville* from *Cape Rouge* to defend the Ascent at *Sillery*.)

^b The Heights of *Abraham*, where the *French* Army drew up, are scarcely half a Mile from the Works of the Town to the S. W.

“ The Houses, into which the *Light Infantry* were thrown, were well defended.”
Townshend.

1759. an Attempt was made to dislodge them by our Troops, and which brought on a brisk and obstinate Attack; but all our Efforts were to no Purpose, as it was absolutely necessary to bring up Cannon to drive them out.

The two Armies did not long remain in View of each other, without coming to Action; our Troops shewed a great Eagerness to engage, and Intrepidity, but kept it up a very little Time only; it was judged proper to take immediate Advantage of this Spirit; however, it had been more prudent to have waited the Arrival of Monsieur *De Bougainville*, who was advancing with the Flower of the Army; but our Generals thought they could do the Business without him, and so marched up to the Enemy. Our Troops gave the first Fire, and those

^a It is most certain that the Army (*French*) formed in good Order, and that their Attack was very brisk and animated. *Townshend.*

^b It was seemingly but ill judged of the *French* Generals to rush on to an Attack, without waiting for the Arrival of Monsr. *de Bougainville*, could they have prevented coming to Action, especially if what is here advanced be true, that he had the *Picked Men* or Flower of their Troops with him; add to this, his Situation was such, that, according to Mr. *Townshend*, the *English* Army must of Necessity have been put between two Fires. ("Scarce was this effected, when M. *de Bougainville* with his Corps from *Cape Rouge*, of 2000 Men, appeared in our Rear." *Townshend.*)

By General *WOLFE*'s Letter of the 5th of September, when this Landing was only in Agitation, and seemed to be intended as the Finishing Stroke of the Campaign, the *English* Army amounted to no more than 4 or 5000 effective Men; ("after the *Points of Levi* and *Orleans* were left in a proper State of Defence.") a very unequal Match for the *French* in Point of Numbers, even in any Situation, and much less so in the present one, and of which Brigadier *Townshend* seemed so very sensible, that when the Command devolved upon him by the much lamented Fall of General *WOLFE*, his first Employment, even after the Victory obtained, and the Rout of the Enemy, was to secure his Camp. ("I have been employed, from the Day of Action to that of the Capitulation, in redoubting our Camp beyond Insult." *Townshend.*)

'Tis probable, a Contempt of our Numbers, and a fancied Security of Success on that Account, might betray the Marquis *De Montcalm* into this rash Engagement, and which was very little consistent with his usual Coolness and Wisdom; for he seems in Mr. *WOLFE*'s own Opinion, (who certainly was no mean Judge) to have been an able and experienced Officer: ("The Obstacles we have met with, in the Operations of the Campaign, are much greater than we had Reason to expect, or could foresee; not so from the Number of the Enemy, (though superior to us) as from the natural Strength of the Country, which the Marquis *De Montcalm* seems wisely to depend upon." *WOLFE.*) He never could have been led into this Attack by any extraordinary Confidence

those of the *English* the ' second, and the Affair was over ; our *Right* 1759. took to their Heels, our *Center* ran away after them, and drew along the *Left*, and so the Battle was lost in less Time than I am telling the Story.

An Attempt was made to rally the *Runaways*, but without Effect ; all that could be done, was to collect a Body of 8 or 900 Men together, whom they drew up in Ambuscade in a ' Copse of Wood upon the *Right* of the *Hills of Abraham*, and whose Fire retarded in some measure the Pursuit of the Conquerors ; some others, who had recovered from their Fright, formed themselves into a few Platoon, and made a Stand, so that the Action began to be renewed upon the Declivity of the Mountain in different Parts ; however, the fatal Blow was struck, and the Enemy triumphed.

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dence he had in the Troops of the *Colony* and the *Savages*, for he must know the *Canadians* too well to risk a Battle, because they were in *Spirits*, and their Courage was up, as is insinuated here ; but the Advantage of the Ground, the superior Extent of his Line, the Sight of the *English* Army before the Town, Vexation at finding himself out-generall'd, his Lines and Batteries, his intrenched Camp and formidable Redoubts become of no Use Surprize, Desire of Revenge, Thirst of Glory, Honour of the *French* Arms, Anger, or Disappointment, might all concur to hurry him on to immediate Action, and without waiting for any farther Addition to his Forces to fall upon the Enemy drawn up before him.

Whatever was the Inducement, the Event plainly shewed it a very indiscrete Onset, and such a one as might have ended in the total Destruction of the *French* Army, without affording an Opportunity for a second Trial ; for, had the Town of *Quebec* been situated at a greater Distance from the Field of Battle, they must all have inevitably been cut to Pieces, or reduced to the melancholy Necessity of laying down their Arms. (" If the Town had been further off, the whole *French* Army must have been destroyed." Saunders.)

" Our Troops reserved their Fire till within forty Yards, which was so well continued, that the Enemy every where gave way. Townshend.

" The Enemy began the Attack, our Troops received their Fire, and reserved their own till they were so near as to run in upon them, and push them with their Bayonets ; by which, in a very little Time, the *French* gave way and fled to the Town in the utmost Disorder, and with great Loss ; for our Troops pursued them quite to the Walls, and killed many of them upon the *Glacis* of the *Ditch*." Saunders.

" Part of the Enemy made a second faint Attack ; part took to some thick Copse Wood, and seemed to make a Stand." Townshend.

1759. We lost in this Engagement between ^a 7 or 800 Men killed and wounded. Monsieur *de Montcalm* died of his Wounds the next Morning; Monsieur *De Senezergues* was found dead upon the Field of Battle, and General ¹ WOLFE survived his Victory only four Hours. Mr. *Monckton*, second in Command, was wounded, but not dangerously.

At the Close of this unhappy Affair, Monfr. le Marquis *De Vaudreuil* assembled a Council of War, to which the principal Officers were summoned. At this Council he declared his Opinion, "That the Troops should take their Revenge the next Morning, and endeavour to wipe off the Stains they had contracted the foregoing fatal Day;" this Proposal, which seemed to carry a true Sense of Honour with it, ought never to have been rejected by ^b those Gentlemen who receive their Sovereign's Pay, in order to maintain the Spirit of Honour; but so, however, it happened, and the united Voice of all the Members gave as their Sentiments, "That there was an absolute Necessity for the Army to retire to the River ¹ of *Jacques Cartiers*, and the sooner it was done, the better, there being no Time to lose." So the Army broke up their Camp that very Evening, abandoning Provisions, Ammunition, Baggage, and Artillery, and marched all Night to gain the Point *Au Trempe*, which was appointed the Rendezvous for the whole.

Before

^a "Their Loss (of the Enemy) is computed to be about 1500 Men, which fell chiefly upon the Regulars." *Townshend*.

¹ On the Side of the *British* were killed only nine Officers; but One of these nine (a Loss almost irreparable to the *English* Nation) was the Gallant General himself, whose Name can only be forgot, when *Quebec* can be no more remembered.

One Captain, six Lieutenants, and one Ensign fell likewise in the Action, with 545 Rank and File.

Wounded, Officers 53, Serjeants 95, 4 Drummers, 506 Rank and File; in all—648.

^b The Marquis *De Vaudreuil*, tho' Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in *Canada*, was not regularly in the Army, upon the Officers of which only this Reflection seems to be intended.

¹ *Jacques Cartiers* appears to have been a very strong Post; Mr. *Murray*, in his Account of the Raising of the Siege of *Quebec*, speaks of it in that Light, "They (the Enemy) left the Camp standing, and have retired to their former *Azylum*, *Jacques Cartiers*." It is situated about twenty Miles above *Quebec*.

Before he marched off, Monsieur *De Vaudreuil* dispatched an Express to Monsieur le Chevalier *De Levy*, to give him Intelligence of the dreadful Catastrophe our Troops had met with, and to desire him to come and take the Command of the Army upon him, in the Room of Monsieur *De Montcalm*, who was dying. The Courier found the Chevalier at *Montreal*, where he was just arrived, coming up a Channel he had cut in the River of *Cataracony*, to secure that Part of the Country, which was threatened with an Invasion, from Sir *William Johnson*, the Conqueror of *Niagara*. 1759.

Monsieur *De Levy* set out from *Montreal*, immediately upon the Receipt of the Letter, and arrived at *Jacques Cartiers* the 16th of September. After a few Hours Conference with the Marquis *De Vaudreuil*, it was agreed between them, to write to Monsieur *De Ramsay*, Governor of the Town of *Quebec*, to acquaint him, "That a Resolution was taken to march to his Relief; that after the next Day, the whole Army would be in Motion; that a Disposition was made to throw a considerable Supply of Provisions into the Town; and, in a Word, to encourage him by all Means to hold out to the last Extremity."

The Courier on his Arrival at *Quebec* found the Capitulation already in train, and a Treaty entered into and carrying on between Monsieur *De Ramsay* and the Besieging General; one would have imagined that the Marquis *De Vaudreuil's* Letter would have broke off, or at least suspended a while, the Issue of this Negotiation; but whether the Orders it contained, were not precise or explicit enough, or

"By Deserters we learn that Monsieur *De Levy* is come down from *Montreal*; some say, he has brought two Battalions with him, and that M. *De Bougainville* with 800 Men and Provisions was on his March, to sling himself into the Town the 18th, the very Morning it capitulated." *Townsend*.

"This was exactly the Case at *Guadaloupe*, in the *West Indies*, the same Year; Monsieur *De Bompar*, the French Admiral, had actually landed a Reinforcement of 2000 Men, and a Supply of Arms, upon the Island, the very Day it surrendered to General *Barrington*; which Disembarkation, had it taken place but 24 Hours sooner, must inevitably have preserved the Colony, and the English Troops would have been obliged to have returned

1759. or whether Monsieur *de Ramsay* had Reasons of his own, which weighed more with him than his Instructions from Monsieur *Vaudreuil*, is an Affair not very certainly known.

Sep. 18. The Treaty however continued, and the Capitulation signed on both Sides the 18th of *September*, at the *English* Camp before *Quebec*.

returned on board the Transports again, being at this Time so reduced in their Numbers, from Service and Sickness, that it would have been impossible for the General to have opposed this *new Body*, or to have acted *offensively* any longer upon the Island with a Probability of Success.

The ARTICLES of CAPITULATION were as follows :

ARTICLE I.

M. DE RAMSAY demands the Honours of War for his Garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the Army in Safety by the shortest Road, with their Arms, Baggage, six Pieces of Brass Cannon, two Mortars, or Howitzers, and twelve Rounds.—*The Garrison of the Town, composed of Land Forces, Marines, and Sailors, shall march out with their Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, lighted Matches, with two Pieces of Cannon, and twelve Rounds, and shall be embarked, as convenienoly as possible, in order to be landed at the first Port in France.*

ARTICLE II.

That the Inhabitants shall be maintained in the Possession of their Houses, Goods, Effects, and Privileges. *Granted, provided they lay down their Arms.*

ARTICLE III.

That the said Inhabitants shall not be molested, on Account of their having born Arms for the Defence of the Town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the Inhabitants of the Colonies of both Crowns, to serve as Militia. *Granted.*

A R-

A R T I C L E IV.

That the Effects belonging to the absent Officers, or Inhabitants, shall not be touched. *Granted.*

A R T I C L E V.

That the said Inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their Houses, until their Condition shall be settled by a definitive Treaty, between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties. *Granted.*

A R T I C L E VI.

That the Exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion shall be preserved, and that Safeguards shall be granted to the Houses of the Clergy, and to the Monasteries, particularly to the Bishop of *Quebec*, who, animated with Zeal for Religion, and Charity for the People of his Diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely and with that Decency, which his Character, and the sacred Mysteries of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion require, his Episcopal Authority in *Quebec*, where-ever he shall think it proper, until the Possession of *Canada* shall have been decided by a Treaty between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties.—*The free Exercise of the Roman Religion, Safeguards granted to all religious Persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at Liberty to come and exercise freely and with Decency the Functions of his Office whenever he shall think proper, until the Possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties.*

A R T I C L E VII.

That the Artillery and warlike Stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an Inventory taken thereof. *Granted.*

M E M O I R S of the

A R T I C L E VIII.

That the Sick, Wounded, Commissaries, Chaplains, Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and other Persons employed in the Hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the Cartel settled between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties, on Febr. 1759. *Granted.*

A R T I C L E IX.

That before delivering up the Gate, and the Entrance of the Town, to the *English* Forces, their General will be pleased to send some Soldiers to be placed as Safeguards at the Churches, Convents, and chief Habitations. *Granted.*

A R T I C L E X.

That the Commander of the City of *Quebec* shall be permitted to send Advice to the Marquis de *Vaudreuil*, Governor General, of the Reduction of the Town; as also that this General shall be allowed to write to the *French* Ministry, to inform them thereof. *Granted.*

A R T I C L E XI.

That the present Capitulation shall be executed according to its Form and Tenor, without being liable to Non-Execution of any preceding Capitulation. *Granted.*

The present Treaty has been made and settled between us, and Duplicates signed at the Camp before *Quebec*, September 18, 1759.

C. Saunders.

G. Townshend.

De Ramsay.

Such

Such were the principal Events touching the Campaign of 1759, 1759. on the Side of *Quebec*; I shall now add a Word or two, with a few Observations on the Operations carried on at *Carillon*. The Intelligence we received from all Quarters during the Winter, left us no longer Room to doubt but that an Attack would be made upon *Quebec*, early in the Spring of 1759, and the Defence of that Garrison being allotted to the Marquis *De Montcalm*, a Consultation was had to appoint a General to the Command of the Troops at *Carillon*, against which Mr. *Amberst*, Generalissimo of the *English* Forces, was then preparing to march, at the Head of an Army of 10 or 12000 Men.

The Choice falling upon Monsieur *De Bourlemaque*, as soon as the Navigation was open, he set out from *Quebec* to take the Command conferred upon him, and availing himself of the Time given him by the slow Advances made by the Enemy, he completed the Works already begun, added new ones, and put his little Army which amounted to 3000 Men into so good a Condition, as to be able to make as vigorous a Defence, as they had done the 8th of *July* in the Year preceding; but the Orders he received at leaving *Quebec* (and which his great Spirit, in spite of his subordinate Station, would have led him to have evaded and broke thro', had they not been repeatedly given) rendered all these Preparations entirely useless and of no Effect, obliging him to make a Retreat which astonished the whole World, and even our very Enemies themselves; so that as soon as he heard of the Approach of General *Amberst*, he made the necessary Dispositions for bringing off the Army, and the Day the Enemy made their first Appearance, gave Orders for the whole of the Troops to line the Entrenchments, and for all the Batteries, as well those within the Lines, as those in the *Fort*, to fire incessantly till Night came on, at which time he sent Directions to the Officer who commanded the *Fort* to continue his Fire, as long as he had any Ammunition

E 2

- “ General *Amberst* was making Preparations to pass the *Lake Champlain* to fall upon
- “ Monsieur *Bourlemaque's* Corps, which consists of three Battalions of Foot and as many
- “ *Canadians* as make the whole amount to 3000.” *Wolfe*.
- “ We discovered by intercepted Letters that the Enemy had abandoned *Carillon* and
- “ *Crown Point*, and were retired to the *Isle aux Noix*.” *Wolfe*.

1759. munition left, and then to blow it up, and follow him; as to himself he set sail with the Remainder of the Army for ^a *St. Frederic*, and landed afterwards, according to his Instructions, at the *Isle Aux Noix*.—Upon this Island he erected such a Number of Works, as to render it by all Accounts impregnable, and every one agrees who has taken a View of them, that the *Isle Aux Noix*, had it been attacked, would have proved the Church-yard of the *British* Army.—I will not pretend to say that the insuperable Strength of this Island prevented General *Amberst* from presenting himself before it (as was daily expected) but thus much is certain, that he sent off some Bateauxs under Cover of three Vessels to reconnoitre it, and afterwards thought proper to postpone his Designs till the following Spring.

Sir *William Johnson* on his Side, who after the Conquest of *Niagara*, was to have advanced to *Presentation Fort*, and from thence to *Montreal*, never made his Appearance at all; contented, it seems, with the taking of *Niagara*, and having defeated the Reinforcements brought by Monsieur *De Lignery*, he had no Inclination to expose his Troops to new Dangers, or, as has been conjectured, was employed on more material Services elsewhere.

A thousand Causes have conspired to bring on the Calamities which have distressed this Colony; however, I don't undertake to give a History of them; I shall only observe, that we have committed one Mistake upon another in such a Manner, as to have the Appearance of Design, and as if they were done on Purpose, and that the Evil is grown to such a Height, as at this time scarcely to be remedied.

With regard to *France*, our Dependance upon it is so precarious, that

^a The Fort at *Crown Point*.

“ It was however like *Carillon* abandoned the following Year upon the Appearance of an Attack. “ Colonel *Haviland* with his Corps took Possession of the *Isle Aux Noix*, “ which the Enemy abandoned on the 28th (*August* 1760.)”

General Amberst's Letter of September 8, 1760.

Siege of QUEBEC.

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that we may be said at present to hang by the Eye-lids, and the ensuing Spring shall in all Probability entirely drop off. 1759.

P. S. The Convoy mentioned in the beginning to have arrived at *Quebec* from *Old France* to the Relief of the Garrison before the Siege, consisted of the following Ships.

Frigates.

	Guns.	
Le Machault	24	Monsieur <i>Kanou</i> Commodore
Le Seneffe	24	Captain <i>Grandrivier</i> .
Le Duc de Fronfac	24	<i>Vileuse</i> .
Le Bienfaissant	22	<i>Courvalle</i>
The Lovely Nancy	24	<i>Minviel</i>
La Chezine	22	<i>Duclos</i>

The latter had on board Monsieur *De Bougainville*, Colonel, carrying Dispatches from the King, one Captain in the Land Service, and 44 private Men. The rest were Merchantmen, Store Ships, &c. to the Number of seventeen in the whole. The Names of which are as follows:

The four Brothers	Captain <i>Girois</i>
The Golden Fleece	<i>Marchaud</i>
The Venus	<i>Carbonelle</i>
La Miroquin	<i>Conti</i>
The Juliet	<i>Grammont</i>
Le Suinton	<i>Guitour</i>
Le Remaux	
Le Coulibre	
Le Soleil Royal	
The Friendship	<i>Voyer</i>
The Elizabeth	

These were the Store-Ships and Frigates General *Wolfe* and Admiral *Saunders*

1759. *Saunders* were so anxious to destroy ¹, but found it impracticable; some few of them escaped afterwards to *Old France*; however the *Elizabeth* was drove on Shore. The *Soleil Royal*, *Le Senefterre*, and *Duc de Fronfac*, the two last of 24 Guns each, were lost in a Gale of Wind coming down the River *St. Laurence* after the Surrender of *Quebec*, and the *Chezine* was taken by the *Rippon*.

The following is the Journal of their setting out on their Return to *Old France*, and their coming down the River *St. Laurence*.

Nov. Anchored at *St. Michael* at Six in the Evening, twenty Fathom
20. Water.

Wind South in the Morning, up Anchor and came to sail with the Fleet for *Cape Rouge*, where all the Ships brought up, but the *Coulibre* and *Chezine* who returned to *St. Michael* and came to an Anchorage.

22. At Noon a Fog came on, so thick as not to be able to see.

At Four in the Afternoon, saw the *Elizabeth* driving from her Anchor, and not having another on board, was obliged to run ashore.

The Wind increasing in the Night drove the *Soleil Royal*, *Le Senefterre* and the *Duc de Fronfac* on Shore, where they were all lost at Midnight.

23. An *English* Schooner came down upon the *Elizabeth*, and anchored alongside of her, carrying four Guns and 50 Men; the *English* fired a great many Shot at the *Elizabeth*, to oblige her Ship's Company to leave

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leave her; they then sent three Boats with 40 Men to break her up and plunder her; but before her People quitted her, they left a lighted Match in the Gun Room, which soon after blew up the Poop, and 30 of the Enemy upon it; the rest were made Prisoners, and the Schooner taken by the Boats of the *Machault* and *Chezine*. 1759.

At Eleven at Night, got under sail with the Fleet at *St. Michael* and passed by the Town of *Quebec* at Midnight, the *English* Garrison saluting us as we passed with about 200 or 300 Cannon Shot, and 100 Shells, but without doing any Execution. Proceeded down the River, and came to an Anchor at *St. John's*. 24.

The rest of this Fleet continued on their Voyage to *Bourdeaux*, or to other Ports of *France*, but the *Chezine* was intercepted by the *Rippon*.

The *Machault* of 24 Guns, was taken the Year following by the *Fame*, in *Chaleurs Bay*.

F I N I S.